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Stalin's BOLSHEVIK Article: There is a marked intensification of the heavy publicity already accorded Stalin's BOLSHEVIK article on "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." It is constantly urged as "must" reading for every Communist, political school students, Komsomols and others while even high Party officials are frequently upbraided for failing to get a more thorough understanding of what the Leader said or implied in his latest pronouncement. The article is repeatedly referred to on central and regional transmitters and is also the object of almost daily discussion in lengthy press commentaries and reviews which are not broadcast.

Suslov's recent attack on Fedoseyev's "dubious" reorientation toward the current economic line is followed by a Sobolev PRAVDA article of 12 January (not broadcast) lashing out against three hitherto unmentioned economists--A. Leontiev, I. Gladkov and G. Kozlov--for their un-Marxist "subjectivist views" (sub'ektivistskie vzglyady) on political economy. Such views have been current (imeli khozhdenie) among Soviet philosophers and economists for a long time, according to the author, apparently still are, judging from the title of his article: "Subjectivist Errors in Economic Science Must Be Overcome to the End." Although the above-named economists are accused of errors contained in their previous works, some of which were published as early as 1948, there is a strong implication that they are also assailed for their present views which are said to be identifiable with those expressed in Voznessensky's now proscribed book on USSR's wartime economy. Reduced to its essentials, the thesis propounded by these economists is that the economic law under a socialist system is determined by State economic planning, or in other words, that planning is the economic law of Socialism. These "subjectivist perversions" (sub'ektivistskie izvrashchenia) of Marxist theory, epitomized in Voznessensky's book and at the time subscribed to by a large section of Party economists, are now declared a great heresy, and Stalin is quoted as having always opposed them.

Economic laws, as "interpreted" by Lenin and Stalin, are strictly objectivist, and they alone determine the course of social development. The assumption that planning is in itself law would lead to the erroneous conclusion that the people and the State, rather than objective economic laws, can arbitrarily determine the course of social development. That, according to Sobolev, amounts to a repudiation of basic Marxist doctrine which is said to clearly emphasize the "independent operation" of economic laws. What the subjectivists are actually doing, Sobolev points out, is "replacing necessity by fortuity" (podmenyayut neobkhodimost sluchainostyu), that is, the necessity of conforming to economic laws by the false conviction that the people and the State can manipulate such laws at will. Under such circumstances "there will be no place for science" (ne ostanetsya mesta dlya nauki).

Subjectivist perversion in natural science, including nuclear physics, is the object of a long PRAVDA article by Y. Zhdanov of 16 January, a summarized version of which was transmitted by TASS in English on the same day. Familiarly declaring that science untainted with subjectivist considerations is the only true science, the author points to the general "confusion" (putanitsa) in the minds of capitalist scientists. Even such luminaries as N. Bohr and P. Jordan, Eddington and Einstein are said to be contributing to the existing confusion by their inability, or unwillingness, to free themselves from the fetters of the false theories laid down by Mach and others. Thus Bohr is reported to have stated with reference to nuclear physics that "there is no justification for a clear-cut division between the objective and subjective," while the English astronomer Eddington wrote that physical laws and constants are fully subjective and can therefore be deduced a priori. Pavlov, Timiryazev and presumably also Stalin, are upheld as the only guiding stars for Soviet scientists who are already far ahead of their capitalist contemporaries. Soviet science is now said to be on the right track while certain scientific opinion still maintained in the capitalist world can lead "straight into the morass of subjective idealism" (pryam v boloto sub'ektivnogo idealizma). We must not overlook the fact, Zhdanov continues, that

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such pernicious conceptions have been infiltrating into Soviet science where attempts are made to identify them with materialism "with the aid of terminological ruses" (pri pomoshchi terminologicheskikh ukhishchreniy). Zhdanov does not mention any Soviet scientists who might be "infected" with the malady of capitalist subjectivism.

The curious point brought out in Zhdanov's article is that while capitalism, particularly American "imperialism," is making use of such reactionary, idealistic, obscurantist and subjectivist methods to combat materialism and defend its own class interests, Soviet science is purely objective and presumably unrelated to the class struggle. But this does not exactly jibe with his implicit reference to "objective" science as being on the side of Soviet political activities:

The struggle between advanced science and the subjective and other idealistic theories is, in the final analysis, one of the facets of the historic struggle of irreconcilable class forces: the working class against the bourgeoisie, socialism against capitalism.

Russian text:

Borba peredovoy nauki protiv sub'ektivistskikh i inykh idealisticheskikh teoriy v konechnom itoge yavlyayetsya odnim iz vyrazheniy istoricheskoi borby neprimirimyykh klassov: rabochego klassa i burzhuazii, sotsializma i kapitalizma.

Ideology in Moscow Scrutinized: The prodigious radio and press output on ideological themes immediately preceding and following the "exposure" of the anti-Communist activities allegedly engaged in by Jewish doctors reveals unusual Party attention to the ideological sector of the home front. Noteworthy in this respect is the lengthy PRAVDA account (13 January) of the plenary session held by the Moscow regional Party Committee early in January to discuss the ideological situation and to "adopt measures for the improvement" of the Party's ideological work.

Trenchant criticism is leveled at a number of Moscow dailies and periodicals, the writers' and composers' unions and the "low level" of lecture propaganda. Serious but unspecified ideological blunders (seryoznye promakhi) are attributed to VECHERNAYA MOSKVA, MOSKOVSKIY PROPAGANDIST, BLOKNOT AGITATORA and MOSKOVSKIY RABOCHIIY. Clubs, houses of culture, reading rooms and other cultural organizations are said to have been sadly neglected, political propaganda is "weak and ineffective" and lectures, reports, and dissemination of political and scientific knowledge are far from adequate. In the field of art and literature there is a definite "shying away" (uklon) from anything new and "worthy of the Great Stalin epoch." Ushakov, the secretary of the Moscow Art Committee, "reprimanded" (uprekal) the Writers Union for not having produced anything worthwhile, and the Party secretary of the Bolshoi Theater rebuked the Moscow composers for "shying away from working on new operas" (uklonyayutsya ot raboty nad sozdaniem oper).

In many of Moscow's universities, including the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, ideological matters do not get the concentrated attention they call for. According to the report. There is evidence of a "scholastic approach" (nachetnicheskii podkhod) to the study of Marxism-Leninism in the capital's higher institutions of learning (Vuzy) where the ideological background of the instructors themselves is often questionable. This, it is pointed out, might have been expected in view of the fact that some of the "leading officials" (rukovodyashchie rabotniki) appear to have acquired only a superficial familiarity with the Party Congress materials and Stalin's article "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR."

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Singled out as the chief culprit in this "unsatisfactory ideological situation" is the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Moscow Party Committee which is said to have failed in its over-all command of the regional ideological front.

A long PRAVDA editorial of 8 January\* emphasized the need for an ideological upswing everywhere. The paper quotes a 1934 Stalin speech warning the Party against possible "deviations" from Marxism-Leninism and anti-Leninist "tendencies." In that speech Stalin spoke of the necessity

not to soft pedal but boldly to criticize the deviations of certain comrades from Marxism-Leninism; to expose systematically the ideology and ideological remnants of tendencies hostile to Leninism.

Russian text:

ne zamazyvat, a kritikovat smelo otkloneniya nekotorykh tovarishchei ot Marksizma-Leninizma; sistematicheski razoblatat ideologiu i ostatki ideologii vrazhdebnykh leninizmu techeniy.

The paper goes on to refer to the Central Committee of the Uzbek SSR Communist Party which had reportedly been warned to mend its ideological ways but has remained indifferent to advice from above:

Facts show that the officials of the Central Committee of Uzbekistan's Communist Party ... are manifesting no interest in and no taste for ideological questions.

Russian text:

Fakty pokazyvayut, chto rabotniki TsK Kompartii Uzbekistana ... nikakogo interesa, nikakogo vkusa ne proyavlyayut k voprosam ideologicheskim.

The recent discovery of serious ideological irregularities in Moscow, Leningrad and Gorky Oblasts as well as in the Ukrainian and Uzbek Republics, says PRAVDA, must make the ideological issue the chief focus of Party attention. Referring to Party political education, the editorial says that the studies by and large lack the proper "ideological slant" (ideinaya napravlennost), that is, they are not in strict conformity with the latest definitions of the Party line as outlined in Stalin's BOLSHEVIK article on economic problems, and the decisions of the Party Congress. Political propagandists have failed to inculcate in the people an attitude of "irreconcilability toward any manifestations of hostile ideology" (neprimirnost k lyubym proyavleniyam vrazhdebnoy ideologii) and to properly propagandize "our Soviet" ideology. Thus the Gorky Oblast and City Party Plenums, for example, found nothing unusual in their failure to discuss a single ideological issue: "Is it not clear that such an approach to ideological work can no longer be tolerated?"

The daily and periodical press, the paper continues, must do a great deal more than it has been doing to whip up ideological sentiment among the Communists and non-Party members alike. Singled out for special censure and warning are MOSKOVSKIY PROPAGANDIST, PROPAGANDA I AGITATSIYA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, PRAVDA UKRAINY and RADYANSKA UKRAINA which are said to have revealed serious ideological shortcomings on their pages.

\* The full text of the editorial is carried also by RADYANSKA UKRAINA on 9 January.

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Increased attention to ideological affairs has been noted also on the regional transmitters in the period under review. Noted also is the occasional inclusion of references to foreign influences in the context of political vigilance at home. A RYANSKA UKRAINA editorial of 8 January warns all the Republic's Party Committees against possible infiltration of alien ideas from outside. Political propagandists, the paper urges, should acquire a better background on American "beastly" (zviryacha) ideology and thus be in a position to juxtapose it with Marxism-Leninism and other Communist ideological tenets. They must be equipped with the necessary theoretical means

to expose any intelligence agency of American imperialism, particularly the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and rootless cosmopolitans.

Ukrainian text:

... dlya vykryttya vsilyakoi agentury Amerikanskogo imperializmu, osoblyvo ukrainskykh burzhuaiznykh natsionalistiv i bezridnykh kosmopolitiv.

More stress should be laid also on the "invincible" (nerushyma) friendship of the Ukrainians with the Great Russians as well as on the leading role of the latter. Lvov Oblast and at least four rayons of Kiev Oblast are said to persist in their "under-estimation" of all ideological work.

In a tribute to the revolutionary writer Ivan Franko carried on 10 January by RYANSKA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY, author Tyshina points out that the Ukrainian struggle against their bourgeois-nationalists dates back many years and that Franko was merely one of those who most eloquently expressed his people's sentiments. The fight against the nationalists is linked with the nation's age-old aspirations for close friendship with the Great Russian people in which, it is claimed, the Ukrainians have always seen their own salvation. A Kazakov PRAVDA report from Stavropol Krai (16 January) declares frankly but without amplification that the Krai Party Committee "has not yet drawn the proper conclusions" (ne sdalal eshe dolzhnykh vyvodov) from the recent Congress decisions and, as heretofore, "does not delve deeply" (ne vnikaet gluboko) into ideological issues. Referring to Party political education in general, Kazakov reports that average school attendance in the Party's educational network never exceeds 50 percent and in many cases only 30 percent of the students attend the studies and lectures. The Krai Party Committee is said to be "tolerant" toward such un-Bolshevik behavior of its members who cannot have acquired the necessary familiarity with Stalin's BOLSHEVIK article or Malenkov's Congress speech.

ZARYA VOSTOKA (16 January) speaks of the "backwardness" (otstavanie) in the ideological work of the Georgian Party organizations which has in turn led to "serious deficiencies" in the work of a number of scientific institutions. The Republic Party's Central Committee, the paper asserts, has already called attention to the low ideological level of Georgian art and literature, and the failure of the press, ZARYA VOSTOKA included, to devote more space to Soviet ideology. There is also "much room for improvement" in the operation of Georgia's radio transmitting service and the work of the State publishing house. Complaints of lack of familiarity with Stalin's article and Congress materials are voiced also by ZARYA POLTAVSHCHINY (6 January), LENINSKA PRAVDA (6 January), SOVETSKAYA KUBAN (8 January) and others.

The art of leadership (iskusstvo rukovodstva), says the secretary of the Belorussian Party's Central Committee Zimyanin (18 January), is a very serious business and should not be taken lightly. Many of the Republic's Communist officials, it appears, give it a wrong interpretation: sitting in an office and "inventing

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directives" is not leadership. Nor is the failure to grasp any and all political and ideological issues helpful in leading and "activating" the masses. The Belorussian Communists, says Zimyanin, still have a great deal to learn, first of all how to maintain close contact with the masses. It is regrettable therefore that some Party officials prefer "to keep their distance" (otgorazhivayutsya) from the masses. Such a supercilious attitude is manifested by a number of local Party organizations, particularly by the Vitebsk oblast and Bobruisk town Party Committees. Is there any wonder, it is asked, that such Communist leaders often lose contact with the political situation and fail to keep pace with the ideological life of the country?

There is evidence that some leaders of Party organizations, unable to grasp the meaning of certain political issues, are "leaving them out" to subordinate workers while carrying out their own leadership "in general and as a whole."

Russian text:

Imeyutsya fakty, kogda rukovoditeli partorganizatsiy voprosy politicheskoy raboty "otdayut na otкуп" ot delnym rabotnikam, a sami plokho razbirayutsya v etikh voprosakh i osushchestvlyayut rukovodstvo lish "v obshchem i tselom."

If there is any lingering doubt about the Communist officials' reluctance to tread the dangerous path of ideological leadership, in Belorussia and elsewhere, it should be removed by the repeated official complaints that many Party executives prefer to busy themselves with concrete administrative and economic questions rather than with such spiritual imponderables as dialectical politics and ideology. This is also the contention of Secretary Zimyanin according to whom even the pressure of economic business is no excuse for sidetracking the ideological aspect of Party work: "An end must be put to that practice!" (nado pokonehit s podobnoy praktikoy).

Vigilance is the Word: Central and regional comment on the doctors' "plot," following PRAVDA's editorial blast (13 January) against a number of Jewish physicians, is uniform in its insistence on intensified political vigilance in every sector of the home front. STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (15 January) points to the "unmasked group of pernicious doctors" as additional proof that remnants of bourgeois ideology and private-ownership psychology are still something to be concerned about: "This means that vigilance must not be diminished in any matter." The "little family" (semeiki) groups that are known to exist in certain organizations, it is asserted, are harmful to the people's political cause and should therefore be "exposed and eliminated" wherever they are found. RADIANSKA UKRAINA (14 January) calls on the Republic's press to "expose mercilessly" the reactionary and anti-social essence of bourgeois ideology, Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalism, Zionism and cosmopolitanism. The branches of ideological work where Party influence is weak, the paper continues, "are in danger of being mobilized" by alien people.

IZVESTIA (15 January) belabors certain officials who "in their desire to show that they are 'in the know'" (zhelaya pokhvastat svoey osvedomlennostyu) frequently "blab out" (vybaltyvayut) state secrets. A number of Soviet organs and leaders, it is claimed, have been infected with the disease of "open-mouthed inertia" (otozeistvo), and as long as that malady prevails "we will have wreckers in our midst." The only effective remedy against it, the paper suggests, is vigilance and more of it. Our lecture propaganda is still poor, says SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONEBAS (16 January), because it often misses the main point--the exposure of the internal enemies of the Soviet regime. A thorough study of the 19th Party Congress decisions which warned us against "under-estimating" (nedootsenka) ideological issues would have helped us to determine the proper method and direction of political propaganda:

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All propaganda work should be aggressive and belligerent, and should be directed toward exposing the ideology of American imperialism and its agencies, especially of the Ukrainian and Jewish bourgeois-nationalists, the outcast cosmopolitans.

A LITERARY GAZETTE editorial (17 January) entitled "Vigilance!" appeals to the Soviet men of letters, artists and cultural workers to direct the "sharp point" (ostro) of their devastating satire against the "listless and ne'er-do-wells" (rotozei i shlyapy), the complacent and those affected by a false sense of security.

They must be shaken out of their calm acceptance of things and stung into action, the paper urges:

Love for the Motherland is inseparable from the hatred for her enemies, and hatred means action! ... Vigilance must become an integral attribute of every Soviet person.

Russian text:

Lubov k Rodine neottorzhima ot nenavisti k svo vragam, a nenavist--eto deistvie!... Bditelnost dolzhna stat organicheskim svoistvom kazhdogo sovetskogo cheloveka.

Zionism has become a weapon in the hands of the Anglo-American incendiaries of war, says TRUD editorially on 17 January, and the "monstrous crimes" (shudovishchnie prestuplenia) of these heinous agents--Vovsi, Kogan, Feldman, Greenstein and others--have brought down an avalanche of Soviet indignation. These "diversionists in white robes" (diversanty v belykh khalatakh) had shortened the lives of Zhdanov and Shcherbakov and striven to undermine the health of the military leaders in order to weaken the defensive capacity of our country. We must create an atmosphere of "intense political vigilance" (vysoloi politicheskoi bditelnosti) against all sorts of "little ideas" (ideiki) smuggled into the country from the outside and disseminated by the enemies within, says PRAVDA on 18 January. Declaring that the "hidden enemies" (skrytie vragi), supported by the imperialist world, will continue their damaging activities, the editorial warns the country's officialdom against the dangerous notion that the liquidation of the exploiting classes leads to the "passing away of the class struggle" (potukhanie klassovoy borby). The farther we advance, it is pointed out, the more desperate will the enemy's struggle become. But these enemies, already doomed to extinction, are secondary in importance to the greatest enemy of them all: our own "rotozeistvo" and lack of political vigilance.

Miscellaneous: A broadcast from Stavropol for children on 13 January tells the young listeners that what they have heard in their fairy tales about lakes, rivers and forests appearing on the earth through the intervention of fairies is not really true. "Forests appear not because of fairies' intervention but because Stalin, thinking about the people, decides so."

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